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ABSTRACT

This paper reports findings from a study of bilingual language alternation by first grade Korean-American schoolchildren. Growing up as members of the Korean immigrant community in New York City, the children in this study all entered school with Korean as their mother tongue, and at the time of the investigation, alternated between Korean and English. English is acquired as a second language during childhood and becomes an important medium of communication both in school and in the community. This study examines how bilingual language alternation is used in the learning context of a mainstream classroom by a group of students who share the same mother tongue. The bilingual children were found to strategically employ language alternation to structure their discourse, to negotiate the language for the interaction, and to accommodate other participants' language competencies and preferences. Contrary to the assumption that code-switching is evidence of a linguistic deficit in bilingual speakers, the sequential analysis reveals that code-switching is used as an additional means to communicate the speaker's rhetorical meanings to others. Code-switching was deliberately used as a contextualization strategy. These findings have implications for creating a conducive learning environment for linguistic minority students in a mainstream classroom. (Contains 23 references.) (KFT)

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LANGUAGE ALTERNATION AS A RESOURCE IN THE CLASSROOM: A PRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVE ON KOREAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

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A Roundtable Presentation at AERA Annual Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana, April 24-28, 2000 (Bilingual Education Research – SIG ID #: S12).

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Language alternation as a resource in the classroom:
A pragmatic perspective on Korean American children

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Presented at AERA Annual Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana, April 24-28, 2000.

Overview

This paper reports findings from a study of bilingual language alternation by first-grade Korean-American schoolchildren. Growing up as members of the Korean immigrant community in New York City, the children who participated in this study have all entered school with Korean as their mother tongue, and at the time of the investigation alternated between English and Korean. English is acquired as a second language during childhood and becomes an important medium of communication both in the school and in the community. This study examines how bilingual language alternation is used in the learning context of a mainstream classroom by a group of students who share the same native language background. The bilingual children were found to strategically employ language alternation to structure their discourse and to negotiate the language for the interaction and accommodate other participants' language competences and preferences.

Background

Although a large body of research reveals language alternation, often referred to as 'code-switching', as a normal and widespread phenomenon of bilingual discourse, not only laypersons but some researchers have often assumed that those who mix languages do not know either language adequately. Understanding of bilingualism has often been adversely influenced by the use of terms such as 'the ideal bilingual', 'full bilingualism' and 'balanced bilingualism', which carry the implication that there are other kinds of bilingualism which are not ideal, full or balanced. Although such thinking appears to derive from political and cultural ideology rather than from linguistic evidence, it often develops into full-fledged theories which have serious practical consequences. For example, the notion of 'semilingualism', to this day influential in educational psychology, is based on the assumption that language alternation is evidence of some sort of deficit, an assumption which is at odds with sociolinguistic evidence (Martin-Jones and Romaine, 1986). This paper, by grounding its analysis in a systematic turn-by-turn sequential framework and ethnographic observation, attempts to show how the Korean-English bilingual children employ code-switching as a linguistic asset.

Methods

The study considers the language of twelve Korean-English bilingual children (six boys; six girls) from the same first grade class in a New York City elementary school. Over the course of two months, I adopted the role of a classroom assistant, participating in the daily routines of the class. This allowed

me to collect a tape-recorded corpus of spontaneous speech and to observe children's language choice and language mixing patterns without considerably imposing my presence as a researcher. Whenever possible, detailed accounts of classroom activities, events, and children's language use were recorded throughout the course of the day.

For the collection of spontaneous speech, the twelve Korean students were organized as six pairs such that members of each pair showed comparable proficiency in both English and Korean. Each subject wore a small light-weight wireless radio microphone. Audio-recordings were made in three different situations. The first involved telling to the partner a spontaneously created story based upon an activity in class. In the second, the students counted numbers in some form, such as in buying and selling toy goods in an imaginary store, and in the third, played various educational games with the partner with minimum supervision. The main goal in the speech elicitation process was to obtain insight into the structure of everyday spoken language of the bilingual children engaged in various classroom-related activities. The recordings for each student pair for each activity type lasted between 20 and 75 minutes, yielding a total of about ten hours of recorded speech.

For the analysis of the speech data, all of the code-switch sites as well as several utterances both preceding and following the code-switches were transcribed along with all relevant contextual and situational information. To anchor my analysis, I employed Auer's (1995) sequential analytic framework, which distinguished between participant-related and discourse-related code-switching. Treating code-switching as a contextualization cue, this framework relies on the sequential development of interaction and has particular advantages over traditional functional accounts of language alternation.

Discussion of Findings

Contrary to the assumption that code-switching is evidence of linguistic deficit in bilingual speakers, the sequential analysis revealed that code-switching is used as an additional means to communicate the speaker's rhetorical meanings to other participants in the conversation as well as to communicate extralinguistic information about participants, setting, discourse type, and topic. Analysis of the code-switching patterns revealed that while some children have a clear preference for English, others were more open to speaking Korean because of either preference for Korean or lack of competence in English. In both cases, however, participants employed code-switching to negotiate the language for the interaction and accommodate other participants' language competences and preferences. With respect to code-switching for discoursal purposes, I suggest that these young Korean-English bilingual children employ language alternation as a contextualization strategy. The bilingualism of these children thus emerges as a resource to be cultivated, not a problem to be overcome.

Educational Relevance of the Study and Conclusions

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This paper presents data on the linguistic and interactive value of language alternation, a concept which is of importance not only to bilingual educators but also to mainstream teachers who increasingly have to meet the educational needs of limited English proficient students. It has implications for creating a conducive learning environment for linguistic minority students in mainstream classes such as actively acknowledging the students' native language as a legitimate mode of learning and grouping students of differing language proficiencies for peer work.

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A Roundtable Presentation at AERA Annual Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana, April 24-28, 2000 (Bilingual Education Research – SIG ID #: S12).

1. Introduction

This paper presents data on the linguistic and interactive value of children's bilingual language alternation in the context of a mainstream classroom. Specifically, this study investigates the patterns of bilingual language usage among first-grade Korean-American schoolchildren in New York City. Growing up as members of the Korean immigrant community in New York City, the children discussed here have all entered school with Korean as their mother tongue, and at the time of the investigation alternated between English and Korean. English is acquired as a second language during childhood and becomes an important medium of communication both in the school and in the community. A significant number of bilingualism studies have focused on investigating bilingual speakers' alternation of two languages within the same conversation (i.e., code-switching). Although a large body of research reveals code-switching as a normal and widespread phenomenon of bilingual discourse (see, for example, Timm, 1975; Gumperz, 1982; Poplack, 1980; McClure, 1981; Romaine 1995) not only laypersons but some

researchers have often assumed that those who mix languages do not know either language adequately. Romaine (1995) notes that a realistic understanding of bilingualism has been hindered by the use of terms like 'the ideal bilingual', 'full bilingualism' and 'balanced bilingualism', which carry the implication that there are other kinds of bilingualism which are not ideal, full or balanced. Although such thinking appears to derive from political and cultural ideology rather than from linguistic evidence, it often develops into full-fledged theories which have serious practical consequences. For example, Martin-Jones and Romaine (1986) demonstrate that the notion of 'semilingualism', to this day influential in educational psychology, is based on the assumption that language alternation is evidence of some sort of deficit, an assumption which is at odds with sociolinguistic evidence.

In sharp contrast to deficit-based analysis, Gumperz's (1982) pioneering work on bilingual interactive strategies showed that language alternation, far from constituting a language or communicative deficit, provided an additional resource which bilinguals systematically exploited to express a range of social and rhetorical meanings. From this perspective, code-switching is 'an element in a socially agreed matrix of contextualization cues and conventions used by speakers to alert addressees, in the course of ongoing interaction, to the social and situational context of the conversation' (Gumperz, 1982: 132). Gumperz stressed that other behaviors such as gestures or prosodic patterns were also exploitable as contextualization cues, and were thus functionally parallel to code-switching.

Gumperz's analysis of language choice and language mixing as interactional strategies is further developed and systematized by Auer (1995).

Critical of Gumperz's characterization of speakers' linguistic choices as realizations of a pre-established set of functions (such as addressee selection, to mark emphasis or interjections), Auer argued that not only was such a list theoretically problematic and unmotivated, but it could also in principle never be complete. Developing Gumperz's idea of code-switching as a contextualization cue, he suggested that the problems posed by an analysis in terms of functions could be solved by adopting the sequential framework of Conversation Analysis. As procedures for organizing the ongoing interaction, Conversational participants appear to exploit variable spoken language elements at all linguistic levels (see further Li and Milroy 1995). Auer's suggestion was that code-switching worked much like other (for example) prosodic or gestural contextualization cues, the chief function of which is to signal participants' orientation to each other. While a particular utterance may be contextualized by its prosodic shape as ironical or mocking or as a side-sequence outside the current topic, the same job could be done by code-switching. Auer argued that since the contrast set up by code-switching was particularly visible, switching served as a particularly salient contextualization cue in bilingual communities. His work has proved to be particularly suggestive for the data analyzed in this study.

Auer drew a useful distinction between participant related switching (motivated by the language preferences or competences of participants) and discourse related switching (setting up a contrast which structures some part of the discourse – for example, reiteration of an utterance for emphasis in a different language). Auer points out that the discourse functions of code-switching have

received a great deal of attention in the existing literature, while processes of language negotiation and preference-influenced or competence-influenced language choices are usually not subsumed under conversational code-switching, but are considered to be either determined by societal macro-structures or by psycholinguistic factors. The distinction which he draws between discourse- and participant related code-switching allows language alternation of all kinds to be discussed within a single framework.

2. Methodology

2.1 Subjects

Twelve Korean children, six male and six female, participated in this study. The twelve subjects were selected on the basis that they were all in the same first grade class and had Korean as their native language. Each child's name, sex, age at the beginning of the fieldwork period (May, 1995) and whether they are enrolled in ESL and bilingual pullout classes are listed in Table 1. All but two of the Korean students (i.e., Kyung and Matthew) were pulled out two periods a day to attend a separate ESL class and a Korean-English bilingual class. Besides the twelve Korean students, there were thirteen other non-Korean students whose native language was something other than English. Only two out of the total of 27 students in the class were native speakers of English.

Name	Sex	Age	ESL/Biling.
David	M	7:2	Yes
Kwon	M	7:0	Yes
Matthew	M	7:0	No
Jae	M	6:9	Yes
Joshua	M	6:7	Yes
Abel	M	6:6	Yes
So Hee	F	7:4	Yes
Kathy	F	7:0	Yes
Gina	F	6:11	Yes
Yooni	F	6:9	Yes
Kyung	F	6:7	No
Grace	F	6:7	Yes

Table 1: Korean subjects

2.2 The teacher

Mrs. Kim, the homeroom teacher, immigrated to the United States at the age of seven with her family from Korea. Since then, she has received her elementary, secondary, and college education in the States. While her ability in Korean has not progressed much since moving to America, Mrs. Kim can nevertheless carry on a simple conversation in Korean and speaks Korean with the

Korean parents of her students. There is no trace of Korean accent in her English, but some of her Korean students attempted to speak to her in Korean in the beginning of the school year. Mrs. Kim reported having specifically instructed her Korean students not to speak to her in Korean out of consideration for the non-Korean students in her class. The fact that ten of her twelve Korean students had the opportunity to speak Korean in the daily pull-out bilingual Korean/English class also led her to insist on English as the main language in her classroom. However, although she did not allow her Korean students to address her in Korean, Mrs. Kim did not attempt to prevent them from speaking Korean among themselves.

3. Data collection

3.1 Recording equipment

Each subject wore a small light-weight wireless radio microphone. Sound signals were transmitted to the radio receiver connected to a cassette-recorder placed in a box in the back corner of the classroom. The light-weight wireless transmitter-receiver system recorded speech from any part of the classroom while allowing children to move around freely as they were accustomed to.

3.2 Elicitation procedures for spontaneous speech

I, a bilingual Korean/English speaker, adopted the role of a classroom assistant, participating in the daily routines of the class. This allowed me to collect a tape-recorded corpus of spontaneous speech and to observe children's language

choice and language mixing patterns without considerably imposing my presence as a researcher. Unlike the homeroom teacher who spoke only English and instructed her Korean students to speak English to her, the researcher spoke both English and Korean when addressing the Korean children – a behavior which appeared to be acceptable to both students and teacher. This was done to see how the children would respond to utterances made in both languages by an adult bilingual speaker. Since the default language of the classroom is English, the researcher's use of both languages was likely to create additional occasions for these bilingual children to code-switch. The main goal in the speech elicitation process was to obtain insight into the structure of everyday spoken language of the bilingual children engaged in various classroom-related activities. Such ethnographically sensitive modified participant observation procedures -- where the researcher produces relevant, socially situated talk as a participant in the classroom as well as observing the class -- allow observation of classroom with minimum observer effect (Milroy 1987; see also Moffatt & Milroy 1992; Zentella 1981; Lin 1988, 1990 for reports of similar studies of different groups of bilingual children at school).

Based upon Mrs. Kim's evaluations of students' language proficiency, the twelve Korean students were organized as six pairs such that members of each pair showed comparable proficiency in both English and Korean, as shown in Table 2. This was done to prevent significant mismatch in bilingual proficiency between students and to obtain the largest possible amount of conversational data.

Koreans Pool 1	Koreans Pool 2
Kyung	Matthew
Yooni	Grace
Kathy	Gina
Kwon	Joshua
Abel	Jae
David	So Hee

Table 2: The subject sample showing pairing arrangements for Korean Pool 1 students with Korean Pool 2 students.

Audio-recordings were made in three situations:

1) *storytelling*: telling to the partner a spontaneously created story or some other account based upon an activity in class.
2) *math*: this activity type involved counting in some form, such as in buying and selling toy goods in an imaginary store, sorting and counting different plastic shapes, or measuring how far a snail travels in a given amount of time.
3) *play*: as part of the "Learning Center" in which children are free to play educational games with one another (e.g., various board games, wooden blocks, and jigsaw puzzles).

The recordings for each Korean-Korean student pair for each activity type lasted between 20 and 75 minutes, yielding a total of approximately ten hours of recorded speech.

3.3 The Data

The entire speech corpus for the Korean-Korean pairs consisted of approximately 8,000 utterances, unevenly distributed across subjects and activity types. Figure 1 shows the percentage of extra-sentential code-switching (e.g. code-switching across utterance boundaries) for each subject for each of the three activity types. [1] The percentages were calculated by dividing the number of extra-sentential code-switches produced by a given child in a given activity by the total number of all utterances produced by the child in that activity.

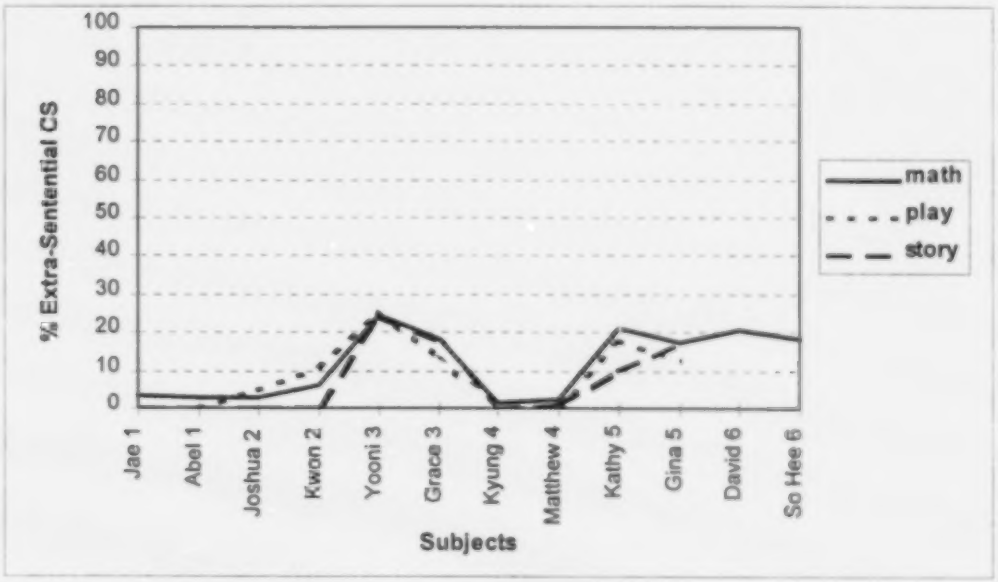

Figure 1: Percentage of extra-sentential CS for 12 subjects in 3 activity types

1 Unlike extra-sentential code-switching, intra-sentential switching has often received attention of researchers attempting to formulate grammatical constraints on code-switching. For a grammatical analysis of intra-sentential code-switching by the Korean-English bilingual children, see Shin (1998).

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Two patterns are clearly evident in Figure 1. First, the overall amount of code-switching is quite low when considered as a proportion of the entire corpus. Low rates of code-switching in children's bilingual speech are documented in other studies which have examined bilingual children's use of various language pairs (e.g., Moffatt & Milroy, 1992; Köppe & Meisel, 1995). Second, each child is quite consistent in either code-switching or avoiding code-switching across the three different activity types. A two-way analysis of variance with pairings of subjects and activity types as two factors revealed that pairing of subjects was a significant effect on the amount of code-switching at 0.05 level (p-value=5.09×10^{-8}) while the activity type was not a significant effect (p-value=0.1585). There was no interaction between pair and activity types (interaction p-value=0.7324). Since subject pairings were decided on language proficiency grounds with students in each pair having comparable proficiencies in Korean and in English, this result suggests that language proficiency was partly responsible for the amount of extra-sentential code-switching. Had the twelve subjects been paired differently (e.g. a child who speaks better English than Korean paired with another child who is better in Korean), the amount of code-switching produced by each child could have been different. This result suggests the importance of the role of the interlocutor in code-switching, and indeed we will shortly see that these Korean-English bilingual children demonstrate sensitivity to the language abilities and language preference of their interlocutors.

Figure 1 also indicates that five children (i.e., Jae, Abel, Joshua, Kyung and Matthew) produced very little code-switching, always below the 5% level. The recordings of these children's spontaneous speech show that they spoke almost entirely in English. Kyung and Matthew are particularly proficient in English being the only two in the sample of twelve who passed the school board English proficiency test to a level which exempted them from both the ESL and the Korean/English bilingual pull-out classes. Unlike the somewhat less fluent English conversations of their Korean peers in the class, Kyung's and Matthew's English utterances are quite native-like in vocabulary, grammar and style. Thus, a high level of proficiency in English appears to partially account for the low rate of code-switching. However, English proficiency cannot solely explain why the less competent speakers of English (i.e., Jae, Abel and Joshua) also produced small amounts of code-switching. As will be shown in the pragmatic analysis, a clear individual preference for English - a preference not entirely dependent on competence - largely accounted for the low rates of code-switching by the latter group.

The preference of some of the Korean-English bilingual subjects of this study for English seems to have been heightened by the classroom setting, since children usually see the school as a domain for the dominant language of the community. [2] It is thus possible that had the recordings been made in the home or in another institution such as a Korean church, more language mixing may have been observed. Since code-switching is highly marked (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Li

2 This is a mainstream classroom with English as the language of instruction. It contrasts with a bilingual classroom whose focus is clearly on a bilingual medium.

1994), given that English is the unmarked code in the classroom, it is reasonable to seek an account of its use in pragmatic terms. Like Auer (1995), Myers-Scotton (1993), and Li (1994), I analyze it in the following sections as an interactional resource.

4. Participant-related vs. Discourse-related Code-switching: an example

As noted above, Auer (1995) sees discourse-related code-switching as contributing to the structural organization of the on-going conversation by establishing a contrast in language choice between two continuous stretches of talk. Participant-related code-switching on the other hand invites participants' assessment of the speaker's preference for and competence in one language or the other. In order to illustrate the basis of subsequent analyses, I briefly review a conversational sequence where both participant-related and discourse-related code-switching are exemplified.

In Transcript (1), Jae and Abel are given a snail to study. Their assignment is to measure the length of the snail, identify the different body parts and measure how long it travels. Notice that after Mrs. Kim walks away from them in line 21, Jae and Abel digress from their assignment and begin to talk about cooking and eating snails. In line 33, Abel initiates a switch into Korean saying that one can eat the snail shell because it is hard. It is possible that he may have meant that one cannot eat the shell because it is hard but in any event, Jae corrects Abel by saying that one cannot eat it. In the event, Abel provides an additional piece of information, namely that the hardness of the shell could cause one to die in case of

ingestion. Finally in line 38, Jae explicitly prohibits Abel's use of Korean by saying 'speak English'. This directive effectively ends the use of Korean for the rest of the activity and the conversation continues solely in English until the researcher later approaches to check on their progress in Transcript (2). In Auer's framework, this constitutes a participant-related code-switching where the switch is motivated by the language preference of one of the participants.

In contrast, Jae's initial switch from English to Korean in line 24 can be analyzed on two different levels as exemplifying discourse-related code-switching. At a superordinate level, Jae's code-switch in line 24 after Mrs. Kim walks away from the two boys contextualizes a shift in footing, marking out contrastively the beginning of a sequence which does not constitute part of the classroom task. At a lower level of analysis, we may note that Jae's disagreement in line 24 with Abel's claim that he eats snail shells is accompanied by a code-switch into Korean, despite his evident preference for English. In line 27, Abel also switches into Korean and expresses agreement with Jae. Comparable patterns are reported by Li and Milroy (1995), where Chinese/English bilinguals used code-switching to contextualize dispreferred responses. In both this study and in theirs, preferred (unmarked) responses are characterized by language alignment while dispreferred responses are marked by contrasting language choices. In the current example, a dispreferred response - a disagreement in this case - is marked by a code-switch.

Transcript (1):

Abel and Jae follow the movements of a snail assigned to them. They measure the length of the body, how long it travels, etc. Abel and Jae have been speaking exclusively in

English for ten minutes. Mrs. Kim approaches their desk and checks on their progress.

1	M. Kim:	Okay/
2		how long is it/
3		Measure it/
4	Jae:	uh/
5		three inch/
6	Abel:	mine [is/
7	M. Kim:	[three what?/
8	Jae:	(2.0) [three
9	M. Kim:	[three inches? [oh okay/
10	Jae:	[three inches/
11	M. Kim:	Did you measure it?/
12	Abel:	Yeah/
13	M. Kim:	Okay so if that's snail's length/
14		Put a space between this/
15		Okay snail's length how long is it/
16		write it in/
17	Jae:	(3.2) three/
18	M. Kim:	okay now look at the eyes/
19		look at the eyes/
20		and then look at the mouth/
21	Jae:	eat it/

(M. Kim walks away from Jae and Abel.)

22 Abel: well the shell/

23 I eat it/

24 Jae: shell **nun** **mos** **mek-ci /**

TOP cannot eat-right

(You can't eat the shell, can you?)

25 **ike-n** **pelyeya-toy/**

this-TOP discard-must

(You should throw this out)

26 **ike** **man** **mek-ko/**

this only eat-and

(and eat only this)

27 Abel: **e/**

yeah

(Yeah.)

28 Jae: We need to cook it/

29 Put this right kid=/

30 Abel: =And put in **elum** and we could eat it right=/

ice

(and if you put ice in it you could eat it, right?)

31 Jae: =yeah/

32 [(unintelligible)

33 Abel: [**ike** **nemwu** **ttakttakhay-se** **meke/**

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this too hard-because eat

(You eat this because it's too hard)

34 Jae: **mos meke/**

cannot eat

(You can't eat it.)

35 Abel: **e ttakttakhay/**

um hard

(Yeah, it's hard.)

36 Jae: [(unintelligible)

37 Abel: [(unintelligible) **ha-myen cwuke/**

do-if die

(You die if (unintelligible).)

38 Jae: (emphatically) Speak English/

39 Abel: Okay/

40 (touches the head of the snail) Ooooh/

41 Jae: No leave it/

42 ey it's gonna go in/

43 Abel: If you scare him/

44 he's gonna go into the shell right?/

45 Jae: Abel just see/

46 (3.5) Now we did mouth eye feet feet feet/

47 feet feet leave him alone like that Abel/

48 It's gonna go in/

49 see its feet/

50 Abel: (3.5) (softly) It's going/

4.1 Participant-related code-switching

Participant-related code-switching in the Korean-English children's bilingual data may be seen as either preference-related or competence-related. The former allows speakers to ascribe to other participants individualistic preferences for one language or the other. However, individual preference may not bear on a participant's code-switching behavior if the competence ascribed to the co-participant prevents it from doing so. Auer (1984) remarks that bilingual conversationalists carefully monitor their partner's speech production, adapting their own language choice to the assessed bilingual abilities of the other. Such accommodation to co-participant's language abilities can be interpreted as competence-related.

4.1.1 Preference-related code-switching

Transcript (2) grants some insight into Jae's preference for English as exemplified in (1). In (2), his fluent Korean conversation with the researcher shows that his reluctance to speak Korean does not emerge from lack of proficiency, since his sentences are well-formed and apparently produced without difficulty. Rather, given the status of English both as the peer language of the young and as the language of the classroom, we may surmise that Jae's preference for English exemplified in (1) originates in his sense of English as the unmarked

choice for classroom use. In addition, Jae's preference for English seems to derive from his relationship with an older brother who first introduced Jae to speaking English. A child in an immigrant family is exposed to the second language in different ways depending on whether he/she is a firstborn child or not. While first-born children in an immigrant setting learn the second language when they enter school, younger siblings begin speaking the second language before they enter school through interaction with the older siblings at home. McClure (1981: 75), in her study of the children of Mexican immigrants in the Southwestern United States, notes that besides simply learning the second language earlier, younger siblings are often influenced by the language attitudes of the older siblings. Therefore, a child whose older siblings are well integrated into the mainstream community may identify more with the speakers of the dominant language and prefer to be associated more with that group. Interestingly, in the current bilingual corpus, all five children who produced low amounts of code-switching (i.e. Jae, Abel, Joshua, Kyung and Matthew) are either second or third siblings.

Transcript (2):

Snail observation continues. Researcher approaches Jae and Abel.

1	Res:	**eti**	**pwa**	**ta**	**hay-sse?/**	
		where see		all	do-PAST	
		(Let's see. Did you finish it?)				
2	Jae:	**ike**	**twukay**	**nun**	**mos**	**pwa-sse/**
		this	two	TOP	not	see-PAST

(We didn't see these two)

3	Res:	**mwe**	**etten**	**twukay**	**lul**	**mos**	**pwa-sse/**	
		what	which	two	ACC	not	see-PAST	
		(Which two didn't you see?)						
4	Jae:	**ike**	**hako**	**ike=/**				
		this	and	this				
		(this and this)						
5	Res:	**=yoke**	**lang**	shell	**hako**	feeler	**hako**	**mos**	**hay-sse/**
		this	and		and		and	not	do-PAST
		(You didn't see this and the shell and the feeler?)							
6		**ike**	**hako**	**ike**	**nun**	**hay-sse/**			
		this	and	this	TOP	do-PAST			
		(Did you do this and this?)							
7		eyes	**hako**	feet					
			and						
		(eyes and feet?)							
8	Jae:	**ikes**	**to**	**hay-sse/**					
		this	also	do-PAST					
		(I also did this)							
9	Res:	**ikes**	**to**	**hay-sse?/**					
		this	also	do-PAST					
		(You also did this?)							
10		mouth	**to**	**hay-sse?/**					

also do-PAST

(You also did the mouth?)

11 **o** **kulaysse/**

oh that is

(Oh, is that so)

12 **twulisekachi** **hay-sse** Abel **hako?/**

two together do-PAST with

(Did you do it together with Abel?)

13 Jae: **nay/**

(yes)

4.1.2 Competence-related code-switching

When Transcript (3) was recorded, Kathy and David were paired to carry out a story-telling task where each child has a snail and creates stories with snails acting as characters. Mrs. Kim is listening to their story. In line 1, Kathy asks David which park their snails will go to. David's response 'animal park' (line 4) follows a considerable delay marked by both filled and unfilled pauses. Since 'animal park' is a loan translation of the Korean compound noun which corresponds to 'zoo', it is reasonable to suggest that David is searching for an appropriate English word during the long delay and that the loan translation is his best effort. Kathy however has difficulties with 'animal park' and in lines 5 and 6, explicitly asks Mrs. Kim the meaning of the expression. After David fails to provide an adequate explanation of 'animal park' in English (lines 7-8, 11), Kathy

switches to Korean and presses David to talk (line 12). Mrs. Kim is also present at this point. Note that from this point on, Kathy uses Korean to address David; she seems to have interpreted David's wrong choice of word, long pauses and 'ums' as indicating lack of competence to carry out this activity in English.

Note also that throughout this sequence Kathy consistently uses English to address Mrs. Kim (lines 14 and 28), as she has been instructed to do. Thus, Kathy's switching displays her own abilities in English and her sensitivity both to David's weaker control of English and to the social norms which require her to use English with Mrs. Kim. Later in the same conversation ((4) below), Kathy explicitly encourages David to tell the story in Korean. Such accommodation to the bilingual abilities of the other participant in the conversation has been reported also by Auer (1984:47) who observed that the Italian/German bilingual children he studied monitored their partner's speech production very carefully for 'mistakes' or insecurities of grammar and pronunciation and adapted their own language choice accordingly.

Transcript (3):

David and Kathy do storytelling. Each child has a snail and creates stories with snails acting as characters. Mrs. Kim is listening to their story.

1	Kathy:	what park/
2	David:	(1.5) um/
3		(6.5) um/
4		(4.0) animal park (chuckles)/
5	Kathy:	(2.0) (to Mrs. Kim) he said animal park?/

6 what is animal park?/

7 David: um/

8 (2.0) what (1.0) a rabbit and (0.7) um/

9 M. Kim: you tell her ok?/

10 alright nice and loud you tell her/

11 David: um/

12 Kathy: (4.5) **ppalli** **malhay** David/

quickly talk

(Come on. Talk. David.)

13 David: (9.0) um/

14 Kathy: (5.0) (to Mrs. Kim) he don't talk/

15 M. Kim: 'kay/

16 (to Kathy) tell him he needs to talk/

17 Kathy: (2.5) **malhay-yatoy/**

talk-should

(You should talk.)

18 David: **nay-ka** **mwusun** **mal** **hanunci** **mollukeysse/**

I-NOM what kind talk do not know

(I don't know what kind of thing to say.)

19 Kathy: **ne-ka** **hayyaci** **nay-ka** **mwulepo-myen**

you-NOM do should I-NOM ask-when

ne-ka **mwusun** **malul** **hayyaci**

you-NOM what kind talk ACC do should

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

(unintelligible)/

(You should do it so when I ask, you should say something (unintelligible).)

20 (4.0) (urgently) **ppalli** **hay-pwa=/**

quickly do-see

(Come on. Try.)

21 David: **=alasse/**

okay

(Okay.)

22 back/

23 (2.3) back=/

24 Kathy: **=key** **mwusun** **mal-iya/**

that what kind talk-COP

(What kind of talk is that?)

25 David: **e** **molla** **na** **kulehkey** **ha-myenun**

um not know I that like do-if

(unintelligible)/

(Um, I don't know if you do it like that (unintelligible).)

26 Kathy: **ne** **nay-kacikum** **mola** **kulenunci**

you I-NOM now something say

ale?/

know

(Do you know what I just said?)

27	David:	(1.0)	**a**	**mwusun**	park	**nyakwu**
			ah	what kind		COP
			malhay-ss-ci/			
			say-PAST-right			
			(Ah. You said what kind of park, right?)			
28	Kathy:	Mrs. Kim, David doesn't know what I'm saying about/				
29	M. Kim:	ok then just try/				
30		try to explain to him/				
31		ok?/				
32		you're doing a good job Kathy/				
33		(to David) you are too/				

Transcript (4):

Storytelling with snails continues.

1	Kathy:	**ne-ka**	**na**	**hantey**	**mola**	**kulay/**
		you-NOM	I	to	something	say
		(You say to me something.)				
2		(5.0)	**hankwukmal-lo/**			
			Korean-with			
			(In Korean.)			
3	David:	**alasse/**				
		okay				
		(Okay.)				

Although language negotiation strategies similar to those in Transcript (2) are evident, where code-switching is preference-related, the underlying motivation for code-switching in Transcripts (3) and (4) seems not to be preference for a language, but rather a limited competence in English on the part of one of the participants. Since using a language with which one of the participants is not comfortable can create confusion and communicative difficulty for both conversationalists, the more skilled bilingual speaker is likely to adapt to the linguistic needs of less proficient speakers in an effort to reduce overall collaborative effort. Although students are normally expected to perform classroom activities in English, continuing the conversation in English with David would most probably have resulted in severe difficulty or even breakdown of communication.

4.2 Discourse-related code-switching

Participant-related code-switching as illustrated so far is motivated by a need to negotiate the proper language for the interaction - ideally, one that is both socially adequate and accommodates all parties' language competences and preferences. Discourse-related code-switching on the other hand can be seen to organize and structure the ongoing conversation with respect to such procedures as turn-taking, topical cohesion, sequencing of activities and repair. Bilingual speakers can make use of two (or more) codes by deploying language alternation as a contextualization strategy in addition to whatever other organizational

strategies are available to monolingual conversationalists (such as gesture and a wide range of prosodic phenomena – see Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 1996). In this paper, I shall show an example of code-switching contextualizing side-sequences. For a detailed analysis of other organizational tasks such as turn-taking, preference organization, and repair used by the Korean bilingual children, see Shin & Milroy (forthcoming).

4.2.1 Code-switching contextualizing side-sequences

Although pairs structure is pervasive in conversation – such as question/answer, request /concession (or refusal), various kinds of embedded, non-linear sequences occur which are in some sense 'asides' to the main topic at hand. Presequences, insertion sequences and side sequences are all stretches of talk which occur either before or during the conversational topic at hand and generally set the scene or clarify misunderstandings (see further Levinson 1983). I am concerned only with side sequences here, which are examined in detail by Jefferson (1972). Side-sequences occur at unpredictable points in the conversation where it is halted, often by the need for clarification. It then picks up where it left off, as illustrated in Transcript (5), where Kathy and Gina are telling a story on the topic 'What can go wrong with some home appliances?'. We can see here that a code-switch brackets off a side-sequence from the main body of talk on this topic.

Transcript (5):

Kathy and Gina do storytelling. (topic: 'What can go wrong with some home appliances?')

1	Res:	Why don't you tell Gina (1.4) about the washing machine/
2	Kathy:	(1.0) Now?/
3	Res:	Yes now/
4	Kathy:	ok/
5		(1.0) um:: a little (0.5) I mean (.) a one=/
6	Gina:	=no that's not (unintelligible)/ (Researcher walks away.)
7	Kathy:	(3.2) (softly) again/
8		(1.6) **yenge** **lo** **malhalkka?/**
		English in talk shall
		(Again, shall I talk in English?)
9	Gina:	**khukey** **malhay/**
		loudly say
		(Say loudly.)
10	Kathy:	(2.0) um: (1.0) A woman a woman/
11		⌊had/
12	Gina:	⌈whose machine/
13	Kathy:	a woman had a washing machine/
14		but (1.8) she put a lot of clothes/
15		so um (1.8) the clothes=/
16	Gina:	=uh huh/
17	Kathy:	got (0.8) more and more=/
18	Gina:	=uh huh/
19	Kathy:	and then/

20 Gina: clotheses machine/

21 Kathy: no I said mi- (.) a woman put uh (0.7) a woman had a washing machine and then (0.5) the woman put a lot of (0.7) um clothes in there/

In this sequence, the researcher asks Kathy to tell Gina her story about what could go wrong with a washing machine. Kathy's rather hesitant start with pauses and hesitation is interrupted by Gina. Although it is not clear how Gina ended her sentence due to an unintelligible piece of recording, it seems that she was dissatisfied about some aspect of Kathy's previous utterance. After some hesitation accompanied by pauses, Kathy asks Gina in Korean whether she should continue telling the story in English. Also in Korean, Gina tells Kathy to speak loudly. Interestingly, Kathy code-switches for her metapragmatic question before continuing her story (line 8) and again when she switches back into English for her subsequent narration (line 10). Gina's metapragmatic instruction in line 9 is also in Korean. Thus, code-switching brackets off structurally distinct parts of the discourse -- the side sequence from the narrative on the topic of faulty home appliances.

5. Conclusion

The application of the sequential type of analysis developed by Auer (1984, 1995) has shown to be useful in revealing how these six and seven year old Korean-English bilingual schoolchildren from New York City employ code-switching to structure their discourse. Very salient however was the status of

English as the designated classroom language, a fact which led to low overall rates of code-switching in the spontaneous speech data. Since language alternation is so rare, I suggested that it should be viewed as highly marked in the sense discussed by Myers-Scotton (1993). This markedness gave it a prominence in the discourse which invited analysis of its use by even very young children as a resource for organizing conversational discourse. Auer's distinction between participant-related and discourse-related code-switching was found to be a useful one. Analysis of participant-related code-switching patterns revealed that while some children have a clear preference for English, others were more open to speaking Korean because of either preference for Korean or lack of competence in English. In both cases, however, participants employ code-switching to negotiate the language for the interaction and accommodate other participants' language competences and preferences.

With respect to discourse-related code-switching, I suggested that these young Korean-English bilingual children employed language alternation as a contextualization strategy. Contrary to the assumption that code-switching is evidence of linguistic deficit or communicative problem in bilingual children, the sequential analysis suggested that code-switching was used as an *additional* means to communicate discoursal meanings to other participants in the conversation. While monolinguals can be shown to make use of contextualization cues such as change in tempo and loudness to organize the interaction (for details see Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996), bilingual children and adults have the option of switching to another language in addition to using those other contextualization

cues. I presented data which suggested that discourse-related code-switching might be viewed as a general procedure available even to very young speakers for organizing various conversational tasks. The bilingualism of these children thus emerges as an additional linguistic and interactive resource.

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